13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

the household head and twelve types of matrilineal relationship of household members to the wife of the household head. Out of the total of 268 persons covered by the household census, 32 are living matrilocally. Hence household grouping of relatives is predominantly patrilocal and patrilineal. Patrilocal residence is the rule for marriage. This is emphasised by the fact that in only five of the marriages recorded is there matrilocal residence. The biological family of mother, father, and children composes fourteen of the forty-four households. It is also the basis for a further fourteen households. Daughter's children and father's sister's children are the most common kin among the additional members of all the households.

In Pangai village there are forty-four households. This gives an average household membership of 6.1 persons. Omitting three anomalous households which consist of one person each, the average for forty-one households with a total membership of 265 is 6.5 persons per household. That this figure corresponds to a fairly typical Polynesian norm is shown by the following table:

TABLE 10.—HOUSEHOLD MEMBERSHIP[17]

Place	Pukapuka	Hawaii	Futuna	Uvea	Tonga
Average Membership	6.5	6.9	8.0	8.77	6.5

These figures suggest that the Polynesian household ranges between six and eight persons. For comparison it may be noted that the average size of the American urban family is about 3.43 persons. The Polynesian household, therefore, is much larger than the white family and manages to hold its size despite years of contact with the ways of the white man. The size of the household group may in fact be taken as a rough index of the degree to which the Polynesian in general has assimilated patterns of white behaviour in contradistinction to the tenacity with which he holds on to native patterns of household-organization and the social values which are implied by this type of large household-grouping.

[17] These comparative figures are from Beaglehole, *Some Modern Hawaiians, University of Hawaii, Res. Bull.* 19, 1939, 49.

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 1 ...nga OU9
Nukuleka

MACHIKO AOYAGI

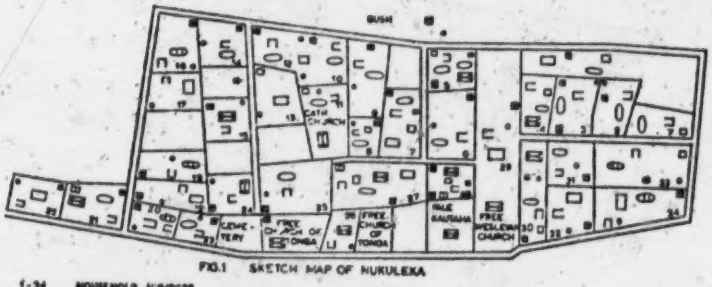


FIG.1 SKETCH MAP OF NUKULEKA

1-34 HOUSEHOLD NUMBERS
M.39 LIVES IN THE BUSH NEAR THE VILLAGE

FALEHOME

EUROPEAN STYLE HOUSE
TRADITIONAL TONGA STYLE HOUSE
SEMI-TRADITIONAL TONGA STYLE HOUSE
FIJIAN STYLE HOUSE
FALEAU OR FALEKUKU

FALEKAUKAU

MADE OF WOOD OR CEMENT
MADE OF COCONUT LEAVES
FALEMALOLO
OTHER BUILDINGS:
COCONUT DRIER
RETAIL STORE
WELL WATER

As is shown in the table, the two generation household is the dominant style. Out of 33 households, 28 consist of one married couple, 4, two married couples and one has no married pair. This last household consists of the town officer with one of his sons. His wife and small children live at Mu'aa where he received another *api tukuhau* recently. He intends to go back to Mu'a to join his family after retiring. Three out of the four households with two couples living together consist of couples of parents and children and the other a pair of married brothers.

From the fact that the large majority of the households include two generations and one married couple, it can be inferred that the household is formed primarily on the basis of the nuclear family. In fact, 21 households respectively are nuclear families and the rest include additional members. The households may be classified roughly into four groups on the basis of the sort of kin that they contain:

A. 21 households that contain only a nuclear family
   a man, his wife and children (including adopted ones) 19
   a man and his wife 1
   a man and his son 1

B. 8 households that contain a nuclear family plus additional kinsfolk of male side
   A plus husband's mother 2
   A plus husband's father and sister 1
   A plus husband's brothers 1
   A plus husband's brother and his wife with children 1
   A plus son and his wife with children 2
   A plus a boy who is remotely related to husband 1

C. 3 households that contain a nuclear family plus additional kinsfolk of female side
   A plus daughter and her husband with children 1
   A plus daughter who is divorced and her daughter 1
   A plus wife's mother and a boy who is remotely related to wife 1

45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 009 Tonga 009
Nukuleka

D. 1 household that contains A plus wife's children who were born in her previous marriage and husband's father's second wife with her son.

There are only four adopted children. In one case a chid was adopted because the foster parents who had an only child wanted more. In another case a girl was adopted by her mother's sister because her own children have already grown up. Two other little children whose parents had been divorced were taken over by their grandparents.

Fission of the Household

Since most of the households are based on a nuclear family, the development of a household seems to be a kind of cycle. After children grow up, they depart from their parents' household to form their own. Table 2 shows the correlation between the mother's age and the number of children living with their parents. Adopted children are included in number.

TABLE 2 — MOTHER'S AGE AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN STAYING WITH THEIR PARENTS

Mother's Age	No. of Children										
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
16 - 20		1	1								
21 - 25	2	1	3	2							
26 - 30		2	1	1	1	2					
31 - 35					1		1	1			
36 - 40	1	1		1			1	2	1		1
41 - 45			2			1					
46 - 50			1								
51 - 55			1								
56 - 60		1		1							

When the wife's age is about from thirty six to forty years old, the number of children reaches the maximum. Then the fact that grown-up sons and daughters start separating from their home, reduces the size of the nuclear family in question. We shall examine here six examples in which we see some of the actual processes in forming new households.

14 The first son of No. 5 (thirty years old in 1962):

In 1946 he received from the Government *api tukuhau* of 8¼ acres and *api kolo* both of which had been vacant. He built a house by himself in this *api kolo* and has lived there since 1950. He parted from his parents before his marriage.

10 The third son of No. 5 (twenty seven years old in 1962):

Having no *api tukuhau*, he worked on the land of his father's mother's sister's son (22). He asked the Government to allot him the *api tukuhau* of his mother's deceased brother. In 1957 his first son was born, and in the next year he built a house in a vacant *api kolo* which has not yet been recognised as his own.

45. Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

612 their *ulu i famili* do not coincide with those whom he considers to be his *famili* members. Judging from these two facts, the *famili* organisation seems to be not solid and not well structured.

Generally, there is a more or less close consanguineal relationship between an *ulu i famili* and the members of his *famili* organisation which includes the people of three or four generations whether lineally or collaterally related. When the organisation becomes larger, it breaks up easily, as if unconsciously. That there is nothing to bind its members to the *famili* organisation, such as the land property or group name, may make the organisation loose and easy to break up. Added to his, the functional role of *ulu i famili* is limited to the ceremonial occasions that occur very rarely in one's life, and people may not be conscious of *ulu i famili* until they need him. The man who belongs to Pualiki could not answer the question who would be the next *ulu i famili* after Pualiki's death.

612 592 The looseness of *famili* organisation might be related to the family structure itself. If the patrilocal extended family were a basic form, the family would continue over generations and people would easily identify [594] the descent of *ulu i famili*. But most of the households consist of a nuclear family which does not last over generations and this makes the descent of *ulu i famili* obscure. A man of an historic family like Leka is supposed to be an *ulu i famili* of a large *famili* organisation. Unexpectedly, in fact, only four families of his brothers, grandson, and 32, whose relation to him is unknown, belong to him.

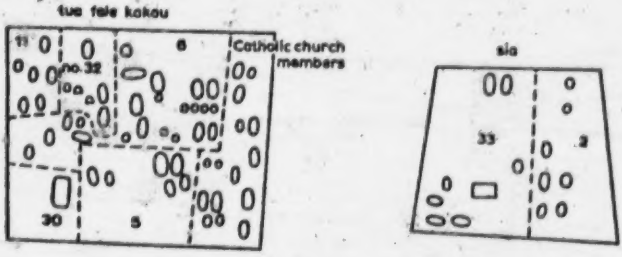
IV The Functions of *Famili* and *Famili* Organisation

612 Then what functions have the *famili* and *famili* organisation, if any, and on what occasions, and to what degree, do they work?

Malae

764 There are two cemeteries; one is called *tua fale kakau* and the other [795] *sia* which is much smaller than the former. In fig. 4, the *tua fale kakau* is shown. On its northern side there is a section for Catholics who are a minority group in the village. In the central area, the graves of Leka's ancestors occupy a large space, upon which 11 and 32's graves encroach. A small section on the southern side is reserved for 30. *Sia* is located in the *api tukuhau* of 33 which is occupied only by 2 and 33.

FIG. 4 Cemetery



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45: Aoyagi E-5 (1962-1963) 1966 OU9 Tonga OU9
Nukuleka

KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOUR IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

In the Tongan village today, the basic kinship organisation is *famili* that is personal kindred, and along with it, there are also particular bonds between nuclear families and an old man, *ulu i famili*, who is usually chosen on the paternal side of the personal kindred. Personal kindred functions in daily life, but one's belongingness to *ulu i famili* is shown in ceremonial occasions of life crises such as weddings and funerals.

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As the preceding objection would suggest, the notion of 'family unit' used in the census does not provide an adequate basis for discriminating among the variety of Tongan households. Not surprisingly, 84 percent of all households in Tonga enumerated in the census of 1966 were single-family-unit households, and only 3 percent had more than two family units.[3] The fact is that there is considerable diversity in the composition of Tongan households that is masked by the census categories, and some problem regarding the proper basis of differentiation.

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3 There is a further reservation to be noted with regard to the census enumeration of households. The national census figures for 1966 show that there were 118 single-family-unit households in Motulahi out of a total of 150 households (79 percent). This proportion is fairly consistent with the national figure: 84 percent of all Tongan households were single-family-unit households. However, using the census's definition of 'family unit', my census of Motulahi in 1970 showed only 97 single-family-unit households out of a total of 145 households (67 percent). Therefore, unless we assume major changes in the composition of Motulahi households between 1966 and 1970--and there is no evidence to support this assumption --we must conclude that my data are not comparable with the corresponding data in the national census. The most likely explanation for the discrepancy between the two sets of data is that in 1966 some people may have represented their family groups as comprising independent households when in fact they were dependent members of another household. One reason for this might be that they regarded their not being independent as merely a temporary condition and therefore not a truly accurate representation of their household situation. (Such circumstances are not uncommon, as materials presented later in the chapter will show.) Another possible explanation might be that they were loath to admit to being a dependent family unit, owing to status considerations explained later in the chapter.

592 As we shall see later in the chapter, there is no consensus on the composition of the ideal household; instead, what is viewed as desirable varies according to [121] the speaker's social situation. Statistical description of household types, which has been productive for the analysis of household structure in other societies (Fortes 1949, Leach 1961, Barnes 1971) also proved unilluminating in revealing patterns of household composition in Motulahi. The difficulty in trying to make statistical sense of the data is not that clear types did not emerge, but that there seemed to be too many types.

[594] Most Tongans would probably say that normally or ordinarily a household consists of a single family group --that is, a married couple and one or more of their unmarried children. The majority of households do not 592 conform to this pattern, however. Among the 145 households 621 in Motulahi enumerated by me in 1970, only 52 (36 percent) 596 consisted of just a single family group of one or both [594] parents and their unmarried children. Among the others there were households with from one to seven family groups, as well as non-kin households (see Table 11). Cutting across these variations, almost half the households in the village had one or more attached individuals (that is, persons who are not part of one of the family groups in the household).

TABLE 11

Household Types in Motulahi, 1970

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Number of family groups in the household	Attached individuals		Total households of this type	Average number of persons per household
	None	Present		
One family group in the household	52	41	93	6.6
Two family groups in the household	18	14	32	10.9
Three family groups in the household	3	12	15	12.9
More than three family groups in the household	1	1	2	20.0
Non-kin household	NA	NA	3	1.7
TOTAL	74	68	145	8.2

Source: fieldwork survey.

794 of other denominations. It seems significant in this
795 regard that Mormon doctrines and congregational practices
183 place considerable emphasis on the individual elementary
602 family. Certainly, there are noticeably fewer multiple-
594 family households among the Mormons in Motulahi (see
592 Table 22). This suggests either that Mormon heads of
596 household do not have the means of supporting more than
554 their own families, or else that having many dependents is
not the major stratagem of garnering prestige for them
794 that it is for other Tongans. Mormons also tend to be
795 more open than other Tongans in asserting that traditional
183 elements of rank and privilege should be eliminated. In
554 place of the traditional criteria of status and customary
forms of status-behavior, material prosperity and
individual achievement are emphasized. In sum, membership
in the Mormon Church accords with the pursuit of an
individualistic course of upward mobility. However, I am
not claiming that people who convert to the Mormon
religion do so only in order to pursue such a course. My
argument, rather, is that in Tonga an adult's switching
affiliation from one denomination to another is an indica-
tion of personal re-tooling, just as moving to a different
village is an indication of re-tooling; each involves a
decision to put oneself in contact with a new set of

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

TABLE 22

Household Types in Motulahi, 1970, Classed by the Denomination of the Male Head of the Household

Household type	Male head of household: Mormon (N=29) %	Male head of household: Other (N=113) %	Total (N=142) %
Single-family-group household	76	63	65
Multiple-family-group household	24	37	35
TOTAL	100	100	100

Source: fieldwork survey.

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

out of a total of 145 households in the village of Motulahi[2] on the island of Tongatapu, there were only 47 such households (see Table 1).[3] In other words, less than one-third of the households in the village were made up simply of a married couple and their unmarried children. Of the remaining households, 49 consisted of more than one family unit, some including one or more attached individuals (that is, persons who were not members of one of the family groups living in the household).[4] The other households in the village were variations on the single-family-unit type, including some whose membership included attached individuals (see Table 2), and others that were incomplete family groups (see Table 3). Among the households in Motulahi were single-generation, two-generation, three-generation, and four-generation households (see Table 4). There were households based on family units

2 "Motulahi" is a fictitious name for the village in which I was based.

3 It would have been interesting to compare my data on household structure in Motulahi with similar data from other parts of Tonga. Indeed, there are figures on household structure in the *Report on the Results of the 1966 Census* (Fiefia 1968), but, unfortunately, there is reason to doubt the comparability of these data. The 1966 national census figures showed that there were 118 single-family-unit households in Motulahi out of a total of 155 households (76%), while my 1970 census showed 93 single-family-unit households out of a total of 145 households (64%). My definition of a "family unit" was taken unchanged from that in the report on the national census, and the 1966 figures for Motulahi are fairly consistent with the national figures on household structure (82% single-family-unit households). Therefore, unless we assume major changes in the composition of Motulahi households between 1966 and 1970 (and there is no evidence to support this assumption), we must conclude that my data on household composition are not comparable with corresponding data in the report on the national census. The most likely explanation for the inconsistency is that, in 1966, some people represented their family units as comprising independent single-family-unit households when, in fact, they did not. One reason for this might be that the people regarded their not having independent households as a merely temporary condition and hence not a truly accurate statement of their household situation. Another reason might stem from the fact that Tonga is a highly rank-conscious society, and to admit to being a dependent family unit is an admission of low status.

4 My definition of "family unit" is derived from the *Report on the Results of the 1966 Census:*

> The basic family unit consists of a man and his wife and any children they may have, and the general rule to be followed is to separate out the youngest family units within the household first, leaving the Head of the household and his wife and unmarried children (and servants, boarders or visitors) as the one remaining unit. . . . If one member of the household (other than the head) is married and is living with the spouse and any children they may have in the head's house, this family group constitutes one family unit and, provided that the remaining members of the household are unmarried, such a household will consist of two family units. . . . Married persons living without a spouse but with offspring in another's house similarly represent a family unit (Fiefia 1968:32).

The census report refers to "servants, boarders and visitors" as being "remaining members of the household" who are not part of a "family group" living in the household. These people comprise my category of "attached individuals." Neither "family unit" nor "attached individual" are named Tongan categories, although both would be readily recognized by Tongans. "Family group" (*famili*) is a named Tongan category (although it is possibly not a native category). The term *famili* has a number of referents, one of which is the sense of a nuclear or elementary family grouping that is expressed in the term "family group" as used in the census report. (For other referents of the term *famili*, see Aoyagi 1966; Decktor Korn 1974). Although the term "household" has no direct equivalent in Tongan, the Tongan word *'api*, meaning a plot of ground devoted to a particular use, is the word that is generally used where we would say "household." The primary meaning of *'api* is the land, but, by extension, it also refers to the commensal group that is located on the land.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 240]

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

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TABLE 1

Household Types in Motulahi (1970)

Family Units	Attached Individuals		Total
	Present	Not Present	
Single-family-unit household:			
Complete family group*	29	47	76
Incomplete family group	12	5	17
Two family units in the household	14	18	32
Three family units in the household	12	3	15
More than three family units in the household	1	1	2
Nonkin households:			
Single-person household	NA	1	1
Two-person household	NA	2	2
Total	68	77	145

*A complete family group is one in which the husband and the wife and one or more unmarried children are present.

TABLE 2

Attached Individuals in Motulahi Households

Relationship to the Male and/or Female Head(s) of the Household	Number of Households Having Attached Individuals	Number of Attached Individuals
Husband's parent	5	5
Wife's parent	7	7
Other adult—husband's kin	9	11
Other adult—wife's kin	15	18
Child—husband's kin	18	31
Child—wife's kin	18	27
Grandchild	11	14
Nonkin—adult	3	7
Nonkin—child	7	9
Total	68*	129

*This figure is less than the actual sum of the figures in this column because some households have more than one type of attached individual.

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9 Tongatapu Motulahi

TABLE 3

Composition of Household Membership, in terms of Completeness of Family Groups

Number of Family Units in the Household	Number of Family Groups				Total Number of Family Groups (households = 142)*
	Composition of Family Groups in the Household				
	Complete Family Group	Mother and Child/children Only	Father and Child/children Only	Husband and Wife Only	
Single-family unit household (N = 93)	76	9	3	5	93
Two family units in the household (N = 32)	34	16	8	6	64
Three family units in the household (N = 15)	16	24	1	4	45
More than three family units in the household (N = 2)	6	4	1	–	11
Number of family groups	132	53	13	15	213

*There are, in addition, three nonkin households, making a total of 145 households.

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47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

TABLE 4

Generation-span in Motulahi Households

Type of Household	Generation-span in the Household				Total Households
	One	Two	Three	Four	
Single-person household	1	–	–	–	1
Two-person nonkin household	1	1	–	–	2
Single-family-unit household	3	74	16	–	93
Two family units in the household	–	8	24	–	32
Three family units in the household	–	–	10	5	15
More than three family units in the household	–	–	1	1	2
Total	5	83	51	6	145

linked by the tie between the family groups of the old parents and their daughter, and others linked by the tie between parents and son, between brother and sister, between sister and sister, and so forth (see Table 5). The membership of these households ranged from one to 26 persons (see Fig. 1).

While in the field, I could make little sense of these data. Norms of intra-family behavior in Tongan society, such as brother-sister avoidance and other patterns of respect, appeared to be irrelevant to understanding the principles of household composition. Similarly, a statistical description of household types failed to reveal clear principles of household structure. The difficulty in trying to make sense of the data was not that clear types did not emerge, but rather that there seemed to be too many types. Furthermore, the model of the developmental cycle of domestic groups did not prove useful in explaining the diversity.

FLUCTUATIONS IN HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

In retrospect, it seems to me that as long as I viewed the household as a stable or at least a regular entity, I was looking at Tongan households in the wrong way. Instead, the composition of households in Tonga is probably best understood as the outcome of different ways of fulfilling certain demands on the individuals and family groups who make up the household. The various ways of fulfilling these demands is the major part of the explanation for the diversity of household types. This, it is clear, is a view of household composition which follows Firth's

to the use of land. For every two householders with 'api tukuhau there was a further householder who was sharing land with a relation. The situation with regards to 'api kolo demonstrated the social significance of land still further—a third of the householders were sharing the 'api of relations.

Just as no village family could rely entirely on subsistence agriculture, few families in the town could rely entirely on wages. The town's economy, like the traditional peasant economy outlined by Franklin,[18] is labour and not capital intensive, kin relations serve a socio-economic role and there is a close attachment to the land. It would be erroneous to talk of per capita income in Tonga; the important consideration is family income. Although not entirely controlled by the head of the household as chef d'entreprise, the broad direction of spendings earned by members of a family is the concern of all the family, especially so in times of crisis or investment in education. And the families, though nuclear by residence, are extended in terms of mutual recognition of services and obligations.[19]

It would not be fakatonga, the right behaviour in terms of respect within Tongan society, to deny a relation access to land, residence, employment or a share in family success. If these are characteristics of a peasantry, one can only say that they are common to all of Tonga, rural and urban. Town dwellers are inescapably bound up with the land. They own it as much as villagers, they rely on it to supplement wages kept low on the assumption of an additional income from agriculture, they value it as a means of fulfilling family obligations and as a measure of their social importance and they depend on it for food. There would be few established household heads, even the most wealthy and the most "urbanised", who do not have a son or relation on their land or on land acquired through their influence. It is the function of a successful household head to find employment for as many of his family as possible. The labour commitment is total and the basic unit of economic organisation is the family, controlled and directed at least to some extent by the household head.[20] A typical family would endeavour to have some member in paid employment, some on the land and some in the "bazaar" sector of the town's economy—a small grocery shop, in the making of handicrafts and other side-line businesses. This diversity in family employment provides material security in an economy which offers insufficient full wage employment; it also indicates the economic obligations borne by the chef d'entreprise towards his kin.

It should be clear that everyone in Tonga is to some extent involved in a money economy, the town dweller somewhat more than the villager but this has not yet led to any noticeable individualisation. There is little evidence of individuals trying to opt out of reciprocal

342 quarters of the household head and his wife from the rest of the house. The larger portion of the interior is used for working, receiving guests, kava parties, eating, and as a bedding area for children and other members of the household.

351 Compounds often have small garden plots of decorative or edible plants, and hedges are a common feature around compound borders. Palms, (245) breadfruit trees, mangoe trees, and other large plants with fruits or barks of an edible or medicinal value are left standing in the compound, (462) but all other vegetation is removed. The lawns are cut and swept by the (857) women and children of the household. Pigs, goats, chickens, cows and (231) horses are often picketed or penned within the compound.

Relationships within the Household

592 594 Most Tongans have a preference for living in nuclear family households and this pattern is generally followed. Of the forty-two households in Puke, forty-one are nuclear families, eight of which contain an unmarried relative of the household head or the household head's 592 wife. One household includes three conjugal pairs, but two of the married couples were only recently married and have not yet established independent households. Village households have a mean size of 6.52 persons. (The 1966 Census of Tonga shows a mean household size of 6.9 persons for Tongatapu.)

592 594 A household, then, most frequently consists of a man, his wife, and their real or adopted children. Within his own house a man is tangata 'eiki 'chiefly man', and is the authority of the household.

593 562 [594] [612] Wives have lesser rank than their husbands, but this is a ranking within the nuclear family not bearing on kainga ranking. Daughters are next highest in rank and are usually given preferential treatment. If a family has meat at a meal, daughters are allowed to choose their portion before sons, and the latter may have to go without. Girls are given comfortable beds but boys are allowed to sleep where they can find a place, which is often outside the sleeping house because of social restrictions between brothers and sisters. Girls are generally clothed more fully and with better garments than boys. Daughters are kept under [834] a watchful eye and made to stay near the family 'api, particularly at night when they are only allowed out in the company of a chaperone.

Girls are socially superior to their brothers and ideally brothers are obligated to be guardians of their sisters' social and physical well-being. Men should give first fruits to sisters and assist sisters and their husbands in gardening, building, or other tasks.

Parents sometimes treat one child as a favorite (pele) and give that child better food and care than is proffered to others. Usually this child is the youngest or oldest of a sibling group and is usually [597] a female. Sometimes an adopted child will become a favorite as it is felt that special attention should be given adopted children. If a male child is chosen as the pele, he is often treated as a female; he is kept close to the 'api, taught feminine tasks, and even in some cases [522] is dressed and groomed as a female. Tongans consider this sort of role reversal very comical and persons outside the household willingly treat the child as required by the role alteration. I never heard of anyone

602 431 437 183 597 [121] not conform to the direction of flow specified by the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. It is safe to say that knowledge of the conscious model does not allow correct prediction of exchange behavior. This means, then, that the conscious model considered alone improperly discribes kinship reciprocity.

602 431 437 593 What can the behavioral pattern tell us about kinship that is in contradistinction to the conscious model and what can it tell us about kinship? The behavioral pattern indicates that a large amount of exchange is taking place between persons related as parent and child or as siblings. In the sample of exchanges of goods 50 percent of the transactions involved principals who stood in one of these two relationships. [597] In the sample of adoptions 89 percent of all transactions were carried out between principals who were either parent and child or siblings. As discussed here the classificatory relationships are not included; therefore, a very small proportion of kinsmen are accounting for a high proportion of exchanges.

This relativly small group of kinsmen would roughly be about nine individuals. I am calculating this figure by considering that Tongan [162] [594] women tend to have seven children (Fiefia 1968: 18), and adding to that the two parents each individual would have, the average nuclear family would be nine persons. This is the group within which there is a high level of exchange. For each ego nine kinsmen would be at maximum about 10 percent of his total kinsmen, considering that each ego knows of and acknowledges kinship with at least ninety to one hundred kinsmen.

592 594 As described in Chapter III the Tongan household usually consists

592 of a nuclear family and this is the preferred form of household composi-
[594] tion. Also pointed out earlier was the fact that the Tongan household
is the basic unit of production and consumption. It is the physical and
[861] social environment within which Tongans learn behavior and establish
592 patterns of behavior. The pattern of exchange indicates that the rela-
593 tionships established within the household and the family of orientation
431
437 are maintained after the members of the household have dispersed and es-
tablished new households.

594 The emphasis on the nuclear family reflected by the patterns of
178 exchange may be a relatively recent alteration in Tongan life style, an
431
439 alteration that has resulted in a "lag" between the conscious model and
602 the new situation. For instance, the population of Puke as presently
[166] constituted has resulted from recent migrations that tend to break up
kin groupings larger than nuclear families. For the individual resident
of Puke this results in a limited range of kinsmen available with whom
to carry on reciprocity. This means, of course, that the physical dis-
tribution of kinsmen may preclude operation of the conscious model for
certain individuals.

597 Comparing the adoption sample to the sample of goods, exchange also
858 produces information on the overriding solidarity of the nuclear family.
431
437 Children, of course, cannot be compared to goods in terms of value, but
[594] they are resources that can be weighed according to their relative social
importance. Children are by far much more important than goods, and this
is reflected in different patterns of exchange.[1]

592 In the village of Vaini where the adoption sample was obtained,
602
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[For footnote, see p. 123--Analyst]

80: Maude K-5 (1961) 1971 OU9 Tonga OU9

Eviction from a registered allotment is rare, and provided a landholder complies with the requirements of the law he has complete security of tenure, for all cases for eviction must be heard by the Land Court. Eviction may be for failure to pay rent, for not maintaining the allotment in the average state of cultivation for tax allotments in the district, for abandoning the allotment or for not planting or tending the 200 coconut palms required by law. In recent years cases for eviction have only been brought on the grounds of failure to pay rent, and as the law gives landholders the opportunity to pay within three months of the judgment very few people have actually lost their land. Security of tenure is therefore very much greater under the present system than it was in the past. Moreover, the Land Court has on several occasions held that registration is not the only test of ownership (Hunter 1963:104-6 and 121-5), and where a person occupies unregistered land which has been held by his family by customary right for some time his position is fairly strong. It is only those who have been given permission to use land to which they have no customary right, with the possibility of registration later, whose tenure is particularly insecure and who therefore most need to keep the favour of the estate-holder.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF LAND

The 1966 census, the first in which a question on land ownership was included, revealed that only forty-two per cent of taxpayers actually had an allotment, with the proportion varying from thirty-nine per cent in Tongatapu to forty-six per cent in Vava'u and forty-eight per cent in Ha'apai.[6] A more detailed indication of the distribution of land in particular villages is given in Table 1, which presents the results of village studies carried out in recent years and shows the percentage of households and (for six of the villages) of taxpayers, according to the acreage of land held. It should be noted that these households differ in composition from those of the past; today an extended family grouping is only occasionally found, particularly in Tongatapu, and most households consist of a nuclear family or a nuclear family and a few unmarried relatives. The figures in Table 1, together with census data, show that the distribution of land between both households and taxpayers is distinctly uneven, and differs markedly from the pattern which should result from the provisions of the Land Act. In only one village did over half the taxpayers have their legal entitlement of eight and

601 612 red are kainga and famili. The term famili seems to be a more exclusive term and refers more to consanguineal ties, whereas kainga, the term which is used in this description of kinship relations, has a broader connotation and generally includes affines (non-blood relations), such as brothers and sisters-in-law or adopted children .

602 592 612 592 An individual's ties with his kinsmen are operative on two levels: within the household and within the broader extended family or kainga. The Tongan household, generally referred to as an 'api (an allotment of land), is the basic social and economic unit. It can be defined as a group of 591 individuals working, eating,and sleeping together. Residence is primarily patrilocal, with the wife moving to the husband's village, although there are numerous cases of matrilocal or neolocal residence.

592 [596] [594] [178] In the past, most households were composed of extended families; however, at present the trend is more toward nuclear families, comprised of a man and wife and their real and/or adopted children. Many households also include unmarried brothers or sisters, a parent, or even a friend or relative from another village or island group. As of the 1966 census, the mean household size for Tongatapu was 6.9 612 persons. The larger unit, the kainga, not only includes the individual household, but also those bilateral kindred who reside in other households, villages,or island groups. The [602] [184] size of this broader kindred group, and closeness of ties

/63 cont./

304 meaning to it. (175)

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175. Many Tongans are of the opinion that circumcision is necessary for reasons of cleanliness (see also J. Cook, loc. cit. p. 280.

A small festivity in connection with circumcision was still common 40 or 50 years ago. Relatives and friends were invited and a castrated pig, which was raised over a period of two or three years expressly for this purpose, was roasted. The old sources do not report anything about speical rites connected with circumcision, and there probably were none. However, the attitude toward circumcision seems to have become more matter-or-fact. (176)

[178)

176. Shifting circumcision to hospitals and small stations--that is, away from the village community--no doubt partly contributed to this development.

304 Apart from that, and from the use of European instruments and new
177 methods, and a lowering of the age for circumcision (177)
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177. Circumcision is said to have taken place in ancient Tonga at the age of 14 (Geschichte der christlichen Missionen.../History of Christian missions/. loc. cit. o. 48); village community life and common schooling of youngsters are probably the reasons why they are now circumcised between the ages of six and twelve.

the ancient custom is still in full force.

2. THEIR SOCIAL ORDER

A. Family Life

a) Marriage, Family, Kinship

594 The Tongan family consists of husband, wife and children. As a
581 rule, marriage is contracted properly according to law and Tongan
588 custom (festivity). There are also "common-law" marriages (that is, couples live together without sanction of the law and the church), but there are regarded as exceptions. (178)

/66 cont./

597 because the family, for example, has no child or no small children or only children of one sex. It also happens that a child may one day like to remain in the house of its playmates and that it begs its parents to give their consent. The rather involuntary adoptive parents often do not object to having the burden of another eater whom they must also clothe, especially if the child is a help in the house.

592 184 565 The statements and accounts given above refer in each case to all village inhabitants. These are mostly commoners. However, nobles and commoners who have risen to respected positions (clergymen, administrative officials, teachers, traders) also live in those villages. Their households do not differ much from those of the rest of the commoners. For example, in 1952 the widower Malupo (in 'Uiha), one of the highest ranking chiefs (nopele) on Tonga, lived together with his daughter, his grandson, the latter's wife and their four children on a property that consists of a small wooden living (=sleeping house, a cook hut, a small bath house and a latrine hut. The structure of family and household in the urban seaports of Nuku'alofa and Neiafu is also very similar to that described on the small islands.

178 (175) The old sources naturally do not give us exact data that permit detailed comparisons of present-day Tongan family life with that of pre-European times.

178 565 (595) (594) We can, however, see that in general no great change has taken place in the family life of commoners. For polygamy was practiced mostly in the upper classes, and in ancient Tonga, as today, lower class families consisted of husband, wife and children (also adopted children). (189)

189. Compare E. W. Gifford, Tongan society /cited in English/. p. 15ff.

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

464 A survey of employment preferences indicated that 83 percent of the respondents preferred to remain in agriculture. However, this response was given for one or both of the following reasons: (1) agricultural employment was preferred to unemployment, and/or (2) agriculture was perceived to be the only employment opportunity available to the interviewee. Several respondents stated that if they were given urban employment, they would abandon farm work, even if it meant a minor reduction in cash income.

121 It is not the purpose of this research to present an indepth analysis of Tongan urban environments. However, mention of the more 369 fundamental issues is appropriate. In the future, in addition to limited opportunities for employment and a steadily increasing crime rate, the urban officials will have to contend with inadequate housing, expanding squatter sections and increasing public health problems resulting from the lack of adequate sewage and refuse disposal.

More significantly, the entire migratory process evidences 369 a weakening of traditional Tongan social and cultural norms. Fre- 596 quently, the movement of households to the urban area disrupts the 593 traditional extended family system. Although family ties are never [594] severed entirely, there is a distinct transition from the system of extended families evident in small rural villages, to the nuclear [591] families found in larger villages and urban areas. However, in [166] instances in which extended family ties are maintained, an urban family may anticipate the eventual arrival of rural relatives. The new arrivals reside with the established urban household until